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QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

Scotch Modesty displayed,

IN A

SERIES OF CONVERSATIONS

THAT LATELY PASSED BETWEEN

An Englishman and a Scotchman:

ADDRESSED TO THE

Worthy PATRIOTS of *England*:

And those whom His godlike predecessor would have driven from His Court, the present possessor of the throne cherishes in His bosom. Happy will it be for Him if the venomous reptiles sting him not to death. Pub. Ledger, N^o 5607.

They have not only the command of this kingdom, but they are in possession of all the valuable and trusty places in the gift of the Crown. Ib. N^o 5610.

Is it not sufficient that the Scots should govern this nation, and that they should destroy it's constitution, plunder it's inhabitants, occupy all places of trust and emolument? L. E. Post, N^o 8712.

Considering the unjust partiality of His Majesty to a people, who never can be sincerely attached to His interest. Ib.

Every vacancy is immediately filled up by a Scotchman. Ib. N^o 8731.

It would be happier for this country if it were to become a province of France, than to continue in subjection to Scottish men. Who would not sooner be a slave to a gentleman than to a blackguard? General Advertiser, N^o 427.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN BEW, N^o 28, *Patet Nether Row.*

M,DCC,LXXVIII.

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The Reader is desired to take Notice, that the Lists that appear in these Sheets were taken from the Court Kalendar for this present Year 1778, the new Edition, corrected to the 15th of January; and that no Changes of any Kind whatever that have been made since that Publication, are considered:

Worthy GENTLEMEN and BRETHREN,

THAT the many evils this poor country groans under, and that our distresses at home, and the dishonor and insults we meet with from abroad, were and are produced by detestable Scotch counsels, and that, ever since this King's accession to the throne, all the power in the kingdom, and all the employments of dignity, trust and profit have been lavishly bestowed on Scotchmen, are truths so universally known and felt, and so constantly cried out against in the daily papers, that it would be trifling with your attention, and a mere waste of time, were I to set about proving or discanting on them with a view, Gentlemen, to your information. But I take up the pen for the sake of others; and if I address myself to you, it is in a reasonable hope that the instructions as well as the reproaches I mean to convey will acquire an additional weight and sanction by passing through so respectable a medium. Those others that I mean are the Scots themselves, our present tory ministry, and their jacobite tools, and the few weak deluded people who listen to them: To these last I wish a better understanding and better company; as to the others,

A

may

may every plague that ever galled the hearts of traitors and tyrants fall on their devoted heads !

BUT these bold Scots contend, that so far from being such engrossers of power and places, as we represent them to be, they have not even that portion of influence, nor that measure of emoluments in Great-Britain, that their numbers, their importance, and their incorporation with us by the Union Act, should give them an equitable claim to expect from a fair and impartial distribution of the royal favours ; and this they undertake to prove in what they call a concise and decisive manner. I shall lay before you their allegations and arguments, as I have collected them from a series of conversations I have lately had with one of the most reasonable men of their country.

GENTLEMEN, some years before we thought it essential to the peace of individuals, the honor of the nation, and it's security against foreign enemies, to infuse hatred and jealousy into the breasts of the Southern inhabitants of this kingdom, against those of the North, or, in other words, before the celebrated North-Britons came out, I had been acquainted with a Scotchman ; (for you know, at that time, the Scots and we were good friends, and all national animosities had subsided

subsided and were forgotten) this man was of a decent character, with some degree of understanding. It would be uninteresting and tedious to tell you by what assiduities this artful persevering Scot did lately, in a manner, force me to renew our old acquaintance, after my having industriously avoided him for many years ; but so it was, he had at length the address and assurance to fasten upon me : he pressed me vehemently to tell him why I had kept him so long at a distance, at the same time entreating me to speak freely, and promising to take nothing amiss that I should say.

S I R, (said I) it is the love of my country, the resentment of it's injuries, and the feelings of an Englishman, that have raised my indignation against you all. Have you not the arrangement and disposal of every thing? Who has any rank or employment in the State, but through the influence of the Scots? Is not all the power in your hands? And who but you hold all the places of trust and profit in the kingdom? Do you not bask and wanton in the sunshine of the court? Who robs us of the King's countenance? Who pours into his royal ear lessons of arbitrary government? And whose counsels are listened to but yours? Yes, you suck the best blood of the Kingdom, and you pocket it's treasures. And what are you all? Men born in sedition, trained up to

rebellion, and jacobites almost to a man! for shame! (but shame is an affection of the mind, unknown to a Scotchman) does not every quarter of the town, every street ring with our complaints; and is it not in the mouth of every poor English Gentleman, alas! I can get nothing, I was born on the wrong side of the Tweed! Can you deny all this?

“NOT *all*,” (said the Scotchman) “I admit the last article, the expression is precisely as you have stated it, and the cry is very general; it’s *truth* and *reasonableness* will appear when I have considered the rest of the charge,—and so, Sir, we hold all the greatest places, and are in possession of all the power in the kingdom.—Now, if I can disprove that part of your position that affirms our holding the greatest places, the other part of it, that imputes to us that enormity of power, will fall of itself, because the one implies the other; and in as much as men are cut off from the first, by so much are they abridged of the last. So, if you please, we will contract our dispute, and join issue on this plain question, dowe or do we not hold the greatest places in the kingdom? and this question may be decided at once;—it affords no matter for argument, but is a mere subject of reference.—The Royal Kalendar will settle the business,—the names of all the placemen are
“there

“ there set down ; and by knowing the name
 “ of each person, you can easily come to the
 “ knowledge of his country. However, to
 “ make this enquiry more commodious to
 “ you, I have drawn out a schedule of the
 “ numbers of the most exalted and conspi-
 “ cuous place-holders in every civil office, at
 “ least, every one of consequence, in the gift
 “ of the crown, and have distinctly marked
 “ the number of Scotchmen in each office.—
 “ I think it is correct ; but reserve to myself
 “ the power of correction, in case any errors
 “ may have escaped me through misinforma-
 “ tion :—look it over, compare it with the
 “ register from whence it is taken, and let
 “ me know, at our next meeting, what effect
 “ it hath produced in you.”

LIST of the Principal Employments in the STATE, LAW, REVENUE, and PUBLICK OFFICES in *Eng- land*.

TREASURY. Lords Commissioners FIVE
 —Secretaries TWO—Private Secretary to
 the first Lord—FOUR chief Clerks—TWO
 Solicitors.

Here are FOURTEEN persons, and not one
 Scotch.

EXCHEQUER.

EXCHEQUER. Chancellor—Auditor—
 Chief Clerk—Clerk of the Debentures—
 Ditto of Registers—Ditto of the Cash-book
 —Ditto for making Exchequer Bills—
 THREE Examiners of Tellers Vouchers—
 Clerk of the Pells—Ditto of Exitus—
 Ditto of Declarat—Ditto of Patents—En-
 groffing Clerk—Annuities under the Au-
 ditor, Two chief Clerks—Old Annuity
 Pells, chief Clerk—New Annuity Pells;
 chief Clerk—FOUR Tellers—FOUR De-
 puties—Tally-court, Chamberlain—Ditto
 —Tally-keeper of the Auditor—Clerk of
 the Introitus—Tally-cutter—Usher of the
 Exchequer—Pay-masters of Exchequer Bills
 —Ditto—Ditto—Comptroller of Exche-
 quer Bills—Tax-office SEVEN Commis-
 sioners—Imprest-office, Scotland Yard—
 Auditor—Deputy—Imprest-office, Lincoln's
 Inn—Auditor—Deputy—Auditors of the
 Land Revenue, &c. in fundry Counties
 THREE—Auditor for the other Counties
 —Deputy—Auditor for the Principality of
 Wales—Deputy—Pay-master of Pensions
 —Deputy.

Here are FIFTY-SEVEN Persons, and not
 one Scotch, if I am rightly informed.

High Court of CHANCERY. Lord High
 Chancellor—Master of the Rolls—Masters
 in Chancery TWELVE—Accomptant Ge-
 neral—Clerk of the Crown—Deputy—
 SIX Clerks—Record Keeper—Principal
 Register

Register—Lord Chancellor's Registers Two—Master of Rolls Registers Two—Clerk of Exceptions—Entering Registers Two—Clerk of Reports—Register of Affidavits—Hanaper-office Master—Deputy—Warden of the Fleet—Keeper of Records in the Tower—Examiner—THREE Clerks of the Petty Bag—Two Patentees of the Sub-pœna-office—Clerk of the Letters Patent—Ditto of Presentations—Patentee for Commissions of Bankruptcy—Clerk of the Briefs—Ditto of custody of Ideots—Principal Secretary to the Chancellor—Secretary of Bankrupts.

Here are FIFTY-ONE Persons, I find no Scotchman.

Court of KING's BENCH. Lord Chief Justice (*N. B.* appointed in the year 56)—THREE Judges—Master of the Crown-office—Marshal—Secondary—Chief Clerk of the Rules—Chief Clerk on the Plea-side—Secondary—Custodes Brevium Two—Clerk of the Upper Treasury—Ditto of the Outer Treasury.

Here are FOURTEEN Persons, Two of whom are Scotch.

COMMON PLEAS. Chief Justice—THREE Judges—Custodes Brevium FOUR—Prothonotaries FOUR—Secondaries
THREE—

THREE — Chirographer — Secondary — Clerk of the King's Silver-office.

Here are EIGHTEEN Persons, not one Scotch.

Court of EXCHEQUER. Lord Chief Baron — THREE Barons — Cursitor Baron — Secretary to the Chancellor — Remembrancer — First Secondary — Second ditto — Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer — First Secondary — Second ditto — Clerk of Errors in Exchequer Chamber — Hereditary Chief Usher — Marshal of Court of Exchequer — Clerk of Estreats — Master of the Office of Pleas — THREE Registers of Deeds.

TWENTY Persons, no Scotchman.

PIPE OFFICE. Clerk of the Pipe — Deputy — First Secondary — Second ditto — Comptroller of the Pipe.

FIVE Persons, I believe not one of them is Scotch.

Justices for the Welsh Counties. Chief Justice — SEVEN Justices.

Of these EIGHT Persons not one is Scotch,

Attorney General — Solicitor General.

Of these Two, One, namely, the last, is Scotch.

Dutchy

Dutchy Court of LANCASTER. Chancellor—Deputy—Attorney General—Receiver General—Auditor of the South Parts—Ditto of the North—Clerk of the Council.

SEVEN Persons, not one Scotchman.

Lord PRIVY SEAL. Four Clerks.
Not one of these FIVE is Scotch.

SIGNET OFFICE. Four Clerks.
Not one of the FOUR is a Scot.

Secretaries of State THREE—Under Secretaries SIX—Secretary of Latin Language—Keeper of State Papers—Collector and Transmitter of State Papers—Decypherer of Letters.

Here are THIRTEEN Persons, I am informed that not one of them is Scotch.

Lords Commissioners of Trade EIGHT—Secretary—Deputy—Solicitor and Clerk of Reports—Counsel to the Board.

Here are TWELVE Persons, not a Scot.

Civil Establishment of AMERICA. Vice-Admiral of all America—Auditor General of the Plantations—Surveyor General of the Woods—Commissioners of Customs FIVE—Secretary—Comptroller of the Customs—Cashier and Pay-master—Solicitor.

Persons TWELVE; I imagine, from his Name only, that One of these is a Scotchman.

CUSTOMS. Commissioners NINE — Secretary — Comptroller General — Collector Inwards — Ditto Outwards — Comptroller of the Port of London — Surveyor General — Solicitors THREE — Accomptant of Petty Receipts — Comptroller of Issues and Payments — Inspector General of Imports and Exports — Register General of Shipping — Inspector of Prosecutions — Receiver of Fines and Forfeitures — Chief Searcher — Deputy — FIVE Patent Searchers — Usher of the Long-Room.

Here are THIRTY-TWO Persons, not one of them is a Scotchman.

EXCISE OFFICE. Commissioners NINE — Secretary — Receiver General — Comptroller of Cash — Inspector General of Coffee, Tea, &c. — Ditto of Brewery — Register to the Commissioners — Solicitor — Auditor of Excise — Auditor of Hides — Comptroller of Accounts — Deputy.

TWENTY Persons, no Scot.

SALT OFFICE. Commissioners FIVE — Comptroller — Treasurer.

Persons SEVEN, I am told that not one is Scotch.

General POST OFFICE. Post-masters General Two — Secretary — Receiver General — Accomptant General — Inspectors of the

the mis-sent Letters Two—Solicitor—Resident Surveyor—Comptroller of the Inland Office—Comptroller of the Bye Nights—Comptroller and Resident Surveyor—Comptroller of the Foreign Office—Court Post (2/. a day.)

FOURTEEN Persons, I am told that not one is Scotch.

STAMP OFFICE. Commissioners FIVE—Comptroller—Receiver General—Secretary.

EIGHT Persons, no Scotchman, as I am informed.

His Majesty's MINT. Warden—Master and Worker—Comptroller.

THREE Persons, no Scot.

ADMIRALTY OFFICE. First Lord—Lords Commissioners SIX—Secretary—Deputy—Pay-master of Marines—Judge—Solicitor.

TWELVE Persons, no Scot.

PAY OFFICE of the Navy. Treasurer—Pay-master and Accomptant.

Two Persons, I believe One of them is Scotch.

NAVY OFFICE. Commissioners SEVEN
—Ditto of Dock-yards THREE—Ditto at
Nova Scotia.

ELEVEN Persons, one Scotchman only, as I
am told.

Surveyors General, &c. of His Majesty's Woods
in America SIX.

Of these SIX, I believe One is Scotch.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL. Governor
—Lieutenant Governor.

Not one of these TWO is Scotch.

VICTUALLING OFFICE. Commis-
sioners SEVEN—Secretary.

EIGHT Persons, none Scotch.

WAR OFFICE. Secretary at War—De-
puty.

Not one of these TWO is Scotch.

PAY OFFICE for His Majesty's Forces.
Pay-master General—Deputy—Cashier—
Accomptant—Ledger Keeper—Computer of
off Reckonings.

SIX Persons, no Scotchman, as I am informed.

TOWER of LONDON. Constable—Lieu-
tenant Governor—Deputy—Lieutenant Go-
vernor of St. Catherine's.

Not one of these FOUR is Scotch.

Warden

Warden of the Cinque Ports—Lieutenant.
Two Persons, not one of them Scotch.

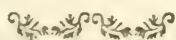
CHELSEA HOSPITAL. Governor—
Lieutenant Governor—Secretary and Register—Agent and Pay-master.
FOUR Persons, not a Scot.

Lieutenants of Counties FIFTY-NINE.
One only is a Scotchman.

MARSHALSEA COURT. Knight Marshal—Steward of the Court—Prothonotary.
THREE Persons, none Scotch.

Clerks of the Council FOUR.
Not one is Scotch.

Total of Place-holders, FOUR HUNDRED and FIFTY-ONE, of which (errors excepted) are Scotch, only, EIGHT.



AT our next meeting, the Scotchman asked me, if he had not “ opened my eyes, and “ whether I was not *now* satisfied, that I had “ taken up an unreasonable prejudice.”

SIR, (said I) your list is just as I expected it, fallacious and defective; fallacious, in that
you

you have put down nine Commissioners of the Excise, but given us no mark by which we can find out that *one* of them is your countryman. Mr. — is notoriously so; and it is defective, because you have not put down one tenth part of the number of placemen. I suppose, that those you have left out, would not have served your purpose so well. Besides you make a parade with your fifty-nine lieutenants of counties, and but one Scotchman among them. Consider, Sir, these are local honors, and are, or should be, held by gentlemen of considerable estates in their respective counties. The one person you allude to is a Scotch nobleman, and I admit, has a very good right to the station he fills, because he comes within the distinction I have made; but pray don't think it a hardship, that other Scotchmen, who are not in the same predicament, should not be admitted to those honors.

SAWNEY was not out of countenance, nor at a loss for an answer.

“SIR,” (said he) “the list is as exact as my
 “care, and the information of others, would
 “enable me to make it. I have purposely omit-
 “ted several hundred places, whose salaries and
 “emoluments together, do not amount to more
 “than three hundred pounds a year. As to the
 “number of Scotchmen that are employed, it
 “is possible, (though I do not believe it to be
 “true)

“ true) that I may have been misinformed in
 “ a few instances ; it would be absurd to sup-
 “ pose I intend a deceit, when detection is
 “ so much in your power, and so near at hand.
 “ If you should find any errors in that par-
 “ ticular, I shall congratulate you on your
 “ discovery ; but you must find out, at least,
 “ two or three hundred, if you mean to give
 “ any colour to your assertion of our holding
 “ *all* the places of trust and profit.

“ You are mistaken, Mr. — was born
 “ in Hanover, and if his ancestors, having
 “ been natives of Scotland, makes him a
 “ Scotchman, with what propriety did our
 “ gracious Sovereign glory in the name of
 “ Briton, his ancestors having been Germans?
 “ —but the gentleman shall be what you please
 “ to make him. I deny that the list I gave
 “ you, is defective; it answers the purpose
 “ for which I drew it up, and gives you all
 “ that I promised. We lie under the impu-
 “ tation of holding all the places of trust and
 “ profit in the kingdom; the list shews whe-
 “ ther we do or not. The present King is
 “ calumniated for His partiality in bestowing
 “ them on us, whilst his late Majesty is ex-
 “ alted to the skies for overlooking us; both
 “ assumptions are equally false, and both are
 “ ridiculously absurd. The list shews, that
 “ the post of chief justice of England, is the
 “ only

“ only capital one filled by a Scotchman; and
 “ in doing this, it acquits the *present* King
 “ of Scotch partiality in that instance, for it’s
 “ noble possessor received his appointment to
 “ it from the hands of the late King. It like-
 “ wise shews, that the most creditable civil
 “ employment held by a Scotchman, under
 “ the favour of His present Majesty, is that
 “ of Solicitor General, a rank inferior to that
 “ of a Puisne Judge, or the Premier Serjeant.
 “ Perhaps I may not have set down a *tenth*
 “ part of the number of place-men; but in
 “ that omission I had no purpose to serve, but
 “ that of saving you and myself trouble. The
 “ subaltern places, in offices, are usually filled
 “ up by the superiors of them, and by mark-
 “ ing the country where these were born, I
 “ thought the consequence would be under-
 “ stood; besides this enquiry doth not belong
 “ to the question before us, for we suffer the
 “ odium of holding the places of the *greatest*
 “ trust and profit, not those of the *least*.
 “ However to shew you, that your cavil will
 “ do no service to your cause, even in it’s
 “ most extended view, I can make it appear,
 “ that the number of Scotchmen, in the su-
 “ bordinate stations, bears no more than a
 “ proportion to the appearance we make in
 “ the higher class of emoluments, and you
 “ have seen how strong we are there. In the
 “ Treasury-office, besides the four chief clerks,
 “ who are all English, there are two or three
 “ and

“ and twenty others, and not one of them is
 “ Scotch. The War-office and Pay-office to-
 “ gether furnish but two; and the very ex-
 “ tensive office of the Customs doth not pro-
 “ duce a single one. The Excise furnisheth but
 “ one. I am not acquainted in the other of-
 “ fices, but am told, and indeed it appears so
 “ by the list of their names to which I refer
 “ you, and which is a good criterion, (though
 “ not an infallible one) by which you may
 “ come to the knowledge of their country.
 “ I say, I am told that my countrymen are very
 “ thinly planted in them.—Take notice, I speak
 “ here of the genteel employments only.

“ WHAT you are pleased to say about our
 “ having no pretension to hold the offices of
 “ Lieutenants of Counties, is perfectly rea-
 “ sonable, but doth not apply to any thing I
 “ have advanced. These are stations of great
 “ authority and trust; and when I say that we
 “ have them not, I would not be understood
 “ to mean, that we are thereby aggrieved; for
 “ I avow, we have no claim to them. But
 “ when we are continually upbraided with
 “ having acquired an over-grown power, and
 “ the mock-patriots affect great fear, that it
 “ is dangerous and formidable to the State;
 “ surely, it is both a political and a moral
 “ duty to allay that fear, if it be real, or to
 “ expose it, if it be feigned; and the short
 “ and effectual way of doing this, is, first to
 “ fix and determine the measure of power,
 “ that we are in actual possession of, and then

C

“ to

“ to shew, that there is an infinitely greater
 “ one in the State, ready to outweigh and
 “ counteract it; and this cannot be done with-
 “ out entering into particulars. Sir, may I
 “ hope that you are satisfied?”

HERE he paused for a reply, but I was not in a humour to gratify him. He took advantage of my silence, and went on.

“ I HAVE only spoken hitherto of the civil
 “ employments. Let us now examine what
 “ power and preferments we have in the
 “ church, and in the military branches. As
 “ to the first, I say no more, than that there
 “ are twenty-six Arch-bishops and Bishops,
 “ and that not one of them is a Scotchman.

“ WHEN I consider the military line, which,
 “ in strictness of speech, consists only of the
 “ fleet and army, I shall, nevertheless, take
 “ notice of the governors of provinces, towns,
 “ forts, &c. Some of these are military go-
 “ vernments, and others are not; but as I
 “ don't know where else to class them, I shall
 “ take them in the groupe; after these I shall
 “ come to the ordnance, in it's two branches,
 “ civil and military.

“ I BEGIN first with the army, where our
 “ number of officers of rank, though not so
 “ large as yours, makes so formidable an
 “ appearance, that it becomes me to make
 “ some apology for crowding you so much as
 “ we

“ we do. Sir, if the small county of Rut-
 “ land were to send out, proportionally, more
 “ gentlemen volunteers to the army than the
 “ county of Kent did, I suppose you would
 “ think it both probable and just, that in pro-
 “ cess of time Rutlandshire would produce,
 “ proportionally, more officers of rank than
 “ Kent would. If this be reasonable, with
 “ respect to the two parts of Great-Britain
 “ I have named, it will be so with respect to
 “ any other two parts I may name, for justice
 “ is eternal and universal. Now Scotland has
 “ furnished a prodigious number of volun-
 “ teers, during the two last wars; many more,
 “ in proportion, than England hath done.
 “ The army and the navy take away almost
 “ all our young gentlemen. The reason is
 “ plain, our gentry are both poor and proud,
 “ (I think you will give me credit for this
 “ assertion) and we can neither submit to the
 “ putting our sons to trades, nor afford to
 “ place them in the genteeler walk of com-
 “ merce, nor to buy them commissions, so
 “ we send them to fight for their bread.—
 “ When battles are fought, vacancies are made,
 “ and our lads are at hand to fill them up. It
 “ were the most cruel piece of injustice and
 “ impropriety, as well as an injury to the
 “ service, to refuse them commissions, when
 “ they have earned them with the hazard of
 “ their lives, and given proof of their spirit.
 “ Thus war being almost the only profession

“ that we follow, we must, in course, pro-
 “ duce a great number of candidates for pre-
 “ ferment in that line. These having gained
 “ their first object, acquire seniority and rank
 “ by perseverance; and it is neither wonder-
 “ ful nor unjust, that some of them should,
 “ at length, become general officers; and this,
 “ Sir, accounts for the number of them that
 “ appears in the army. The same facts and
 “ rule of progression hold nearly in the navy.
 “ To this I add, that my country sends out a
 “ much greater number, proportionally, of
 “ recruits to both branches than England
 “ doth; and it seems reasonable, that the
 “ number of commissions granted to the
 “ claimants of two distinct parts of a king-
 “ dom, should be in a ratio to the number of
 “ recruits the two parts furnish respectively.
 “ I hope, Sir, these reasons will co-operate
 “ in taking off part of the odium the English
 “ throw upon us, for standing so much in
 “ their way, and in some degree exculpate the
 “ King from an unjust partiality to us. For,
 “ after all, this so much envied and so much
 “ censured goodness of His Majesty to His
 “ Scotch officers, amounts to no more (I speak
 “ it in all respect) than an act of common
 “ justice; no more than the paying the la-
 “ bourer his hire, and the doing that which
 “ he would be reprehensible for, if he did
 “ not do. It is the disposal of *high* places in
 “ offices, and at court, where little labour,
 “ and

“ and no danger is incurred, and whence great
 “ honors and emoluments arise, that distin-
 “ guishes the royal bias to any particular set
 “ of people. ’Till we have our *share*, at least,
 “ of favours in that walk, I think you might
 “ be silent on the score of partiality.

“ NOTHING now remains, but to set be-
 “ fore you the numbers of English and Scotch
 “ principal officers, as they are taken from
 “ the Kalendar.”

Generals, Lieutenant Generals, and Major					
Generals,	-	-	-	-	146

Of which are Scotch,	-	-	-	-	33
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Admirals, Vice-Admirals, and Rear-Admi-					
ral,	-	-	-	-	39

Of which are Scotch,	-	-	-	-	4
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“ WE now come to the several Govern-
 “ ments, which I shall consider with no other
 “ distinction than as being at home or abroad.”

Governors of places at home,	-	-	-	31
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Of which are Scotch,	-	-	-	6
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Governors of places abroad,	-	-	-	32
-----------------------------	---	---	---	----

Of which are Scotch,	-	-	-	4
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I have

“ I have here set down but thirty-one Governments at home, there are in reality thirty-three; but I have taken notice of the Tower and Cinque Ports in my former list.”

“ Let us now look over the principal and most lucrative employments in the Ordnance, and begin with the civil branch.”

Civil Branch of the ORDNANCE.

Master General — Lieutenant General — Surveyor General — Secretary — Clerk of the Ordnance — Treasurer and Pay-master — Counsel — Secretary to the Master.

Among these there is one Scotch Gentleman, namely, the Treasurer.

Military Branch of the ORDNANCE.

Chief Engineer and Colonel — Directors and Lieutenant Colonels Two — Sub-Directors and Majors Four — Comptroller of the Laboratory — Superintendant of the Foundry.

“ I think you will find no Scotchman among these.”

“ Now, Sir, you have before you all the State offices, and the other principal public ones. You have seen in what manner the highest posts in the church are disposed
“ of,

“ of. and you know how we stand in the mi-
 “ litary line. I here present you with a list
 “ of the nobility and gentry in the Royal
 “ household; read it at your leisure only;
 “ for the present give me credit when I in-
 “ form you that in that very rich and ho-
 “ norable assemblage we make a still more di-
 “ minutive figure (considering the number of
 “ our peers, and the claim they have to be
 “ distinguished at court) than in any of the
 “ other lists I have presented you with. On
 “ those I might well have rested the defence
 “ I have undertaken to make, from the cruel
 “ (and if it were not cruel, I should call it
 “ ridiculous) charge you have brought against
 “ us; but I will leave nothing untried that
 “ may work in you a full conviction of it’s
 “ falsity, and bring you to a sense of shame,
 “ for directing the publick hatred towards us,
 “ on the supposition of it’s truth. Yes, Sir,
 “ I will vindicate our excellent King, whom
 “ you calumniate for acting in favour of us,
 “ in opposition to the principles and practice
 “ of His Royal Grandfather, whose venerable
 “ memory you perpetually wound and dis-
 “ grace by your insidious and hypocritical
 “ praises, and by making it subservient to the
 “ purposes of defamation and sedition, im-
 “ puting to him deeds that he never per-
 “ formed, and principles that he abhorred.
 “ In His reign, Sir, the Scotch officers shared,
 “ with the English, the honor of leading ar-
 “ mies

“ mies and commanding expeditions; and the
 “ English clamoured not at it, for the dis-
 “ tinction of countries was forgotten, and all
 “ Britons, whether born in the South or in
 “ the North, were considered as countrymen
 “ and as ONE people, and so we are, if the
 “ most solemn compact that ever united one
 “ kingdom with another can make us so.
 “ In that reign Lord Cathcart was at the
 “ head of the forces that were to have at-
 “ tacked Carthagera; and in that reign the
 “ Earl of Stair commanded the confederate
 “ army, at the battle of Dettingen.—Allow
 “ me here to make a short digression, as it
 “ will shew the temper of the times *then*.—
 “ Immediately after that victory, the King
 “ thought proper to stop the pursuit, contrary
 “ to the advice of the Earl, but agreeably to
 “ that of the Hanoverian General. When
 “ this news was brought over, the people
 “ took fire at it; their resentment (though
 “ perhaps too hasty, as they could not *then*
 “ be perfect masters of the story) was natural
 “ and manly, and their expression of it was
 “ of a piece with the loftiness of their
 “ spirit. They did not, in a contracted,
 “ spiteful and pointed manner, remark, in
 “ the language of the present times, that the
 “ King had affronted a Scotchman; but they
 “ exclaimed vehemently, that the counsel of
 “ a BRITISH General, so eminent in his
 “ rank and abilities, should be made to give
 “ place

“ place to the suggestions of a foreigner.—
 “ But to go on: the Earl of Dunmore had
 “ the command of the army in Flanders, in
 “ the absence of the Duke of Cumberland;
 “ and the Earl of Rothes was appointed com-
 “ mander in chief of all the forces in Ireland.
 “ The Earl of Loudoun commanded in Ame-
 “ rica, and when that noble Peer, on account
 “ of some misunderstanding at home, was pre-
 “ cipitately and cruelly recalled, General
 “ Abercromby was vested with the same au-
 “ thority. General Sinclair had the com-
 “ mand of the expedition to Port l’Orient.
 “ Admiral Holbourn hoisted his flag on the
 “ American coast, and Mr. Elliot commanded
 “ the armament that defeated Thurot’s squa-
 “ dron. These appointments were all made
 “ in the *late* King’s time. Now, Sir, is there
 “ any one expedition in the present reign,
 “ where a Scotchman has gone out com-
 “ mander in chief? Perhaps one or two in-
 “ stances may be found where the command
 “ has ultimately devolved on one by removal
 “ or resignation; but that does not come up
 “ to my question. In the present unhappy
 “ war, which we are constantly accused of
 “ fomenting, pray what do we get? We do
 “ not even come in for fish in command.
 “ Two commanders in chief have been suc-
 “ cessively sent to America, and both of them
 “ Englishmen; and among the four Generals
 “ next in rank, not one of them has the guilt

“ of being a Scotchman. Let us now con-
 “ sider the naval commands :—The East-
 “ Indies, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, North-
 “ America, Newfoundland, and the home
 “ stations of Plymouth and Portsmouth,
 “ all these are filled by flag officers, but there
 “ is not a Scotchman among them ; and Ad-
 “ miral Duff, who commands in the Medi-
 “ teranian, is the only flag officer employed,
 “ whom I have the honor of calling my
 “ countryman.

“ I see you hear me with impatience ;
 “ but as you are not pleased to vouchsafe me
 “ a reply, I beg for the sake of justice that
 “ you will bear with me one minute longer,
 “ while I apply what I have said to the ques-
 “ tion before us. Come, Sir, I will treat
 “ you with all the candor it is possible for you
 “ to expect. I will not keep you to the let-
 “ ter of the charge, that you and the mock-
 “ patriots are for ever bringing against us, of
 “ holding *all* the places of power and profit
 “ in the kingdom ; but making allowance for
 “ the language of party, I will suppose, that
 “ you only mean, that we hold more of them
 “ than the English do. I can't bring your
 “ expression down lower, for a man would be
 “ laught at who should say, that by the word
 “ *all* he meant the *lesser* part. If then you
 “ pretend that we hold the *greater* part, it
 “ behoves you to name some great posts and
 “ offices

“ offices that I have omitted, and to shew me
 “ in what department that superiority, either
 “ of power or of profit, that you impute to
 “ us, is lodged; for if it exists, it must be
 “ lodged somewhere. It cannot be in foreign
 “ courts, for the King sends twenty-two mi-
 “ nisters, and only five of them are Scotch-
 “ men. It cannot be in the privy council,
 “ for that right honorable board consists of
 “ one hundred and three members, and there
 “ are but ten of them that are Scotch. Is it
 “ then in the cabinet? Not a Scotchman has
 “ a seat there. I have shewn you that it is
 “ not in the church, nor in the publick of-
 “ fices, nor in the military, nor in the court,
 “ nor in the country. In short it is neither
 “ ashore nor afloat, nor at home nor abroad.
 “ Where the devil then can it be? Come,
 “ I’ll tell you where, and where only it is to
 “ be found.—It is lodged, Sir, with the mock-
 “ patriots, in the vacuums of their skulls,
 “ or in the hollows of their hearts.”

“ If I speak with indignation against those
 “ abominable impostors, I desire it may be
 “ understood that I take my aim at their cha-
 “ racters only, and not at their country. I
 “ have no inclination to represent the English
 “ as a bad people, nor could I do it with
 “ truth; and the only reproach I shall throw
 “ out against them *as a people*, in return for
 “ that load of unmerited abuse thrown upon

“ my countrymen, by the wicked and mad
 “ part of them, is, that the sober and vir-
 “ tuous part is amazingly credulous.

“ CREDULITY is not a vice, but it is a
 “ dangerous weakness of the mind, that we
 “ should earnestly set about curing, by a fre-
 “ quent review of the mischief it produceth
 “ in society, and by a contemplation of that
 “ awful duty justice, which, founding it's
 “ decrees on truths substantially proved, scorns
 “ indolence and passive acquiescence, but de-
 “ lights in laborious investigation. I say cre-
 “ dulity is not (in itself) a vice, for no one can
 “ control his belief, it being an involuntary
 “ operation of the mind, and the mind una-
 “ voidably acts as it is excited or moved by
 “ the testimony of other men, or by the ap-
 “ pearance of things. It's too quick suscep-
 “ tibility of *slight* impressions, and it's pro-
 “ pensity to be too easily affected by a *partial*
 “ and *superficial* view of things, (which is
 “ the weakness I speak of, as distinguished by
 “ the name of credulity) arises from an un-
 “ suspecting honesty, and an habitual indo-
 “ lence of temper, vulgarly (though foolishly)
 “ called good nature. This last quality un-
 “ dermines and destroys the good effects of
 “ the first, by opening an access to, and as it
 “ were, inviting men of inventive faculties
 “ and bad hearts to give a *false* testimony of
 “ facts, and throw a *counterfeit* appearance on
 “ things,

“ things, thereby vitiating the judgement,
 “ and drawing an unjust sentence from an
 “ honest breast. Yes, Sir, ’tis a melancholy
 “ truth, that men of depraved morals often
 “ make the virtue of others the instrument
 “ and support of their own crimes. How
 “ commendable, then, is that man whose
 “ *active* humanity, founded on justice and
 “ mercy, hears with pain and grief the re-
 “ proaches that are cast on his neighbours,
 “ but hath the fortitude to make a strict
 “ scrutiny into their truth, before he suffers
 “ them to take hold of his judgement, or gain
 “ his assent.

“ IN the question before us, how easily
 “ might you have satisfied yourself of the
 “ truth, before you had proceeded to give
 “ judgement. One morning spent in look-
 “ ing over the Kalendar, would have kept
 “ you from the guilt of propagating the most
 “ pernicious falities; for it is owing to the
 “ indolence of your temper, and not to any
 “ depravity of heart, that you have joined in
 “ the too general cry against the best of
 “ Kings. Sir, I perceive your ill-timed pa-
 “ triotic sneer, but His Majesty deserves the
 “ epithet; and let me remind you, that a
 “ patriot of the first magnitude among you,
 “ (and sorry and ashamed am I to see him
 “ there, for, notwithstanding some unaccount-
 “ able steps he hath taken, he hath virtues
 “ that

“ that might throw a blush on the cheeks
 “ of the best of you) I say, this great man
 “ hath acknowledged Him to be so; and now
 “ I have quoted his authority on one occasion.
 “ Let me farther put you in mind, that he
 “ hath, in the most publick manner, with
 “ all the force of his masterly eloquence, re-
 “ probated that groundless, illiberal, (though
 “ fashionable) abuse of the Scots. He hath
 “ declared, that He made use of worthy men
 “ where ever He could discover them, and
 “ that he sought for merit in the North, and
 “ found it.

“ HERE, Sir, I finish for this day; from
 “ this sample of the integrity of your leaders,
 “ judge what degree of credit they deserve
 “ in every thing else they give out. Make
 “ amends for your former credulity, by sus-
 “ pecting, for the future, whatever they shall
 “ advance without bringing proof, and exa-
 “ mine well that proof. For, remember, that
 “ though credulity be the child of honesty
 “ and good nature, it may be the parent of
 “ mischief and confusion.”

This is the list the Scotchman put into my
 hands.

LIST OF

Their MAJESTIES HOUSEHOLDS.

The KING's HOUSEHOLD.

Lord Chamberlain — Vice-Chamberlain — Secretary to Lord Chamberlain — Groom of the Stole — THIRTEEN Lords of the Bed-chamber — THIRTEEN Grooms of the Bed-chamber — Master of the Ceremonies — Black Rod — Master of the Robes.

Of these Three only are Scotch, *viz.* Two Lords and one Groom.

JEWEL OFFICE. The Master.

The Groom Porter — Inspector of Plays — Receiver of the Civil List Deductions.

Rangers and Keepers of Parks, Forests, &c.
TWENTY-FOUR.

Of these one is Scotch.

Master of the Harriers — Master of the Buck-hounds — Master of the Stag-hounds — Master Falconer.

Great WARDROBE. Keeper — Comptroller — Patent Clerk.

Lord Steward of the Household — Treasurer — Comptroller — Cofferer — Deputy Cofferer —
Master

Master of the Household—THREE Clerks of the Green-cloth—FOUR Clerks Accountants (1080 *l.* *per ann.* each)—Clerk Comptroller to the Kitchen.

Yeomen of the Guard. Captain—Lieutenant.

Band of Pensioners—Captain—Lieutenant.

Master of the Horse.

Surveyor General of the Board of Works—Comptroller—Pay-master of the Works—Surveyor of Gardens and Waters.

Lord Warden of the Stannaries — Surveyor General—Treasurer of the Chamber-office, and Deputy.

The QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.

Lord Chamberlain—Vice-Chamberlain—Mistresses of the Robes—SIX Ladies of the Bedchamber—SIX Maids of Honor—FIVE Bedchamber Women—Two Keepers of the Robes.

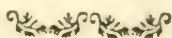
Treasurer—Secretary and Comptroller—Attorney General—Solicitor General—Master of the Horse.

Governor to the Prince of Wales—Preceptor—Deputy Governor—Sub-preceptor.

Governess

Governess of the Royal Nursery—Sub-governess.

N. B. The above list consists only of the most eminent employments at court. The number of persons is ONE HUNDRED and TWENTY-EIGHT, of whom FOUR are Scotch.



GENTLEMEN, as I had never before associated with this sort of people since my admission into your society, I cannot but own, that I felt myself strangely entangled. The man's proofs seemed strong, but no way reconcileable to the lessons I receive every day from *you*. I pleased myself a moment, by thinking that this cursed Kalendar might be under *court* management; but that idea vanished when I recollected, that Mr. John Almon, opposite Burlington-house, was a proprietor.—No, no, (thought I) that gentleman is no tool of ministry!—I dreaded exposing myself again to the noise and sophistry of that talking fellow; but if I declined seeing him, he would report that I was convinced, and had given up the cause.—I could not bear the infamy of that imputation, for, you know, none of us ever do that without a valuable consideration. Well, after much deliberation, I determined upon seeing him;

E

and

and as prudent Generals, when they are in danger of a defeat, sometimes recover the day by artfully drawing off their forces to another ground, and changing the direction of attack, so I formed the design to give way for the present, and begin my onset in a quarter where I expected to find him unprepared. — My tormentor appeared.

SIR, (said I) what right have you Scotchmen to any places at all in England? There are places in your own country, and as your people contribute no more than one fortieth part to the revenue of the State, I think truly that the pickings *there* will come up to your share of the emoluments that are gathered in the whole island collectively.—This was his answer.

“ WHAT *right have you Scotchmen to any*
 “ *places at all in England?* So then the as-
 “ sertion of our actually holding all the most
 “ powerful and profitable ones in the king-
 “ dom is given up. It is no longer insisted on
 “ that we *do bold them*, but an apology is im-
 “ plied in your question for our *not holding them*,
 “ namely, that we have no right to them. But
 “ if we neither have the right, nor the posses-
 “ sion, what is it you complain of? And now
 “ must that bold assertion, so continually en-
 “ forced, and so rooted in the memory and be-
 “ lief of millions of people, shrink in the hour
 “ of trial! That first article in the mock-pa-
 “ triots’

“ triot’s creed, that darling topic, that hath so
 “ long served to impeach the King’s justice, and
 “ to make us the mark for the keenest shafts of
 “ malice and envy, be done away by a bare in-
 “ spection into two or three lists? And must you
 “ suffer ill-bred facts to stare you in the face,
 “ call your leaders liars and calumniators, and
 “ throw confusion on the countenance of those
 “ who have been so credulous and indolent as
 “ to make *them* the keepers of their con-
 “ sciences? Yes, Sir, you must endure all
 “ this; for a strong enemy stands in your
 “ way, whom you hate even more than you
 “ do a Scotchman. I mean TRUTH!—glar-
 “ ing, palpable, unassailable demonstration.

“ AND now the corner stone of your edi-
 “ fice being crumbled to dust, you think to
 “ take refuge in a little idle question, that
 “ answers itself. Yes, Sir, we have a right
 “ to places in England, and so have you to
 “ places in Scotland, and you avail yourselves
 “ of that right too: For instance, one of the
 “ Barons of our Exchequer is an Englishman,
 “ so are two out of our four Commissioners
 “ of the Customs, as is likewise the Secretary
 “ of that board. I might go on, but it were
 “ superfluous, because I admit, that, in ge-
 “ neral, the Scotch places are filled by Scotch-
 “ men; and certainly, if the English and we
 “ were to be considered as two people, (as we
 “ were before the Union) we should have no

“ pretensions to be taken care of in England ;
 “ but since the two kingdoms have been, by
 “ their own consent, consolidated into one,
 “ the power of the crown remaining as it
 “ was before that coalition, the King may
 “ bestow places where he pleases without
 “ any regard to the points of the compass.—
 “ However, as it is generally more convenient
 “ and desirable that gentlemen should enjoy
 “ employments in the neighbourhood of their
 “ estates, houses, and relations, it hath been
 “ usual, in favour of us both, to confer them
 “ with an eye to that intention (with some
 “ exceptions, however, as you have seen.)
 “ But this intention of arrangement can only
 “ take place with regard to those offices in
 “ Scotland that existed antecedent to the
 “ Union, and have been kept up there to this
 “ day, because many others that existed there
 “ formerly were, in consequence of that me-
 “ morable event, annihilated with respect to
 “ their locality, and absorbed in others ana-
 “ logous to them in England ; particularly
 “ all offices under the Great Seal. This cir-
 “ cumstance would have turned many Scotch
 “ gentlemen adrift, if they had not been per-
 “ mitted to follow preferment as it travelled
 “ from their country to yours ; and to gain
 “ appointments in those offices that had swal-
 “ lowed up their own.

“ I do not ask you if this reasoning be just,
 “ because I will not put you to the pain of ac-
 “ knowledging,

“ knowledging, that any thing is so that fa-
 “ vours the rights of a Scotchman. But I
 “ may ask you, if you can think it possible,
 “ that our nobility and gentry could have
 “ been brought to consent to a measure, that
 “ was for ever to bar themselves and their
 “ relations from a participation of the King’s
 “ pretence and favours, and to preclude them
 “ from those employments of dignity and
 “ emolument, that may be looked upon as
 “ the birth-right of some, and the reward
 “ of merit and services to others; I say,
 “ would they have proscribed their own chil-
 “ dren? If you are at a loss to answer this
 “ question, pray explain the meaning of the
 “ fourth article of that treaty, viz. *There shall*
 “ *be a communication of all rights and privi-*
 “ *leges between the subjects of both kingdoms,*
 “ *except where it is otherwise agreed.* In short,
 “ if it was understood at that time, that we
 “ were to give up so many of our employ-
 “ ments in Scotland, and receive none in
 “ lieu of them in England, I can’t help ob-
 “ serving, that the Act of Union was strangely
 “ miscalled; it’s title should have been an Act
 “ of Disunion.

“ WHEN you pretend, that we contribute
 “ but one fortieth part to the support of the
 “ government, I suppose you misunderstand
 “ (for you certainly mistake) the fact. It is
 “ settled by the ninth article of the Union
 “ Act,

“ Act, that, *when England raises two millions*
 “ *by a Land-tax, Scotland shall raise forty-eight*
 “ *thousand pounds: — Call this the fortieth part.*
 “ Now by the eighteenth article it is enacted,
 “ *that the laws relating to trade, customs, and the*
 “ *excise, shall be the same in Scotland as in Eng-*
 “ *land.* These imposts raise upon an average
 “ nine millions; so that we are favoured in
 “ an article that brings in two millions, and
 “ assessed *equally* with yourselves in an article
 “ of nine millions, and this you are instructed
 “ to say, is paying only one fortieth part of
 “ the *whole*. Yet this absurdity goes down
 “ with the rest that are brought against
 “ us!”

GENTLEMEN, I need not point out to
 you, who read every thing that concerns the
 publick welfare with such intense applica-
 tion and shrewdness, that my Scotchman had
 begun to raise his tone and had taken up a
 kind of taunting stile. I was resolved to take
 him down. Come, come (said I) don't dwell
 too much upon the great figure you make in
 the publick supplies. It is well known you
 all smuggle when you can; for as to buying
 things in a fair way, though your pride might
 push you on, your penury would keep you off.
 To be sure poor England would starve, if it
 were not for the *Scotch* duties!

“ 'Tis

“ 'Tis pleasant enough (quoth he) to hear
 “ an Englishman talk of smuggling !

“ *Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.*”

“ And I dare say you never do it yourselves,
 “ but (like us) when *you can*. As to our pe-
 “ nury, we can no more help that crime than
 “ we can that other of being Scotchmen, yet
 “ you take infinite pleasure in reproaching us
 “ with both. Indeed you make us some
 “ amends as to the first charge, by forgetting
 “ yourselves sometimes, and intimating that
 “ we are mighty rich ; and how should we be
 “ otherwise, when we have for so many years
 “ *plundered your inhabitants*, and possessed *all the*
 “ *valuable places in the gift of the crown ! These*
 “ circumstances, joined to a *third* crime, *econo-*
 “ *my*, which you spend so much excellent wit
 “ in abusing us for, must have made us rich
 “ indeed ! Well then ; which of these two
 “ opposite charges do you wish me to plead
 “ guilty to ? Why, as it suits your *present*
 “ purpose, let it be poverty. Now, Sir, if
 “ we are so poor, that but few of us can pur-
 “ chase wine, or rum, or sugars, or other ar-
 “ ticles the duties upon which make up the
 “ bulk of the revenue, still we must be ame-
 “ nable to those duties if ever we shall be-
 “ come rich, and shall actually purchase the
 “ articles. One part of a country is said to
 “ be equally taxed with another, when the
 “ inhabitants

“ inhabitants of both, who buy like commo-
 “ dities, are forced to pay the same duties
 “ for them. I Suppose there are many large
 “ tracts in England, where French wines and
 “ rum are never tasted, yet it would be strange
 “ doctrine for any man to advance, that the
 “ inhabitants are to be looked upon as aliens,
 “ and lose their consequence and priviledges,
 “ because they can’t afford to drink claret, or
 “ treat their friends with rum punch.”

HERE my gentleman made a full stop—but
 ’twas to no effect, so he went on again.

“ MY friend (said he) I find that you are
 “ again troubled with the dumb spirit; but
 “ if you are not deaf too, you may hear some-
 “ thing that may inform you. In our first
 “ day’s conversation you was pleased to ask
 “ me who poured into the Royal ear lessons
 “ of arbitrary government; by which ques-
 “ tion, I suppose, you meant to intimate,
 “ that those of us who are not Jacobites, are,
 “ at least, Tories. As I can do the business in
 “ a few words, I will let you into the real
 “ state of parties in Scotland. I know of only
 “ two parties there, namely, Whigs and Jaco-
 “ bites.—Tories and Republicans we have
 “ none:—As to the last I do not find that we
 “ stand accused, (we should find more favour
 “ among your friends, if we did.)—You are
 “ startled at my affirming that we have no
 “ Tories;

“ Tories ; but your instructors having kept
 “ that matter from your knowledge is no ar-
 “ gument that my position is false, but rather
 “ a presumption in favour of it’s truth. Shall
 “ I tell you why they call us Tories ? The
 “ imputation of Jacobitism would have served
 “ their turn as well, but it would have been
 “ too gross to have called us all so, seeing so
 “ many of us have fought and died in the
 “ cause of the House of Hanover ; but as they
 “ were determined that not a man of us should
 “ escape the publick hatred, they stigmatised
 “ those to whom they could not impute Ja-
 “ cobitism, with the odious name of Tories,
 “ a character than which nothing can be more
 “ heterogeneous and repugnant to our genius,
 “ education and prejudices. No, Sir, we have
 “ no faith in the indefeible hereditary right of
 “ Kings, nor in their divine right, nor in
 “ passive obedience and non-resistance in mat-
 “ ters where religion is to be rooted up, or
 “ the laws laid waste ; these doctrines may
 “ have been broached in England, but they
 “ have never crossed the Tweed ; and I will
 “ be bold to say, that if the Jacobites that
 “ were among us had gained their point, and
 “ placed their idol on the throne, they never
 “ would have been Tories to him. Turn
 “ over the histories of every part of the globe,
 “ and you will not find a country that hath
 “ exerted itself with that unrelenting uncon-
 “ quered spirit against tyrants and arbitrary
 “ power

“ power that ours hath done at all times, and
 “ on all occasions. It is not my business to
 “ read history to you, and if you are igno-
 “ rant, no doubt you will be obstinate; but
 “ your leaders know (I don’t say they will
 “ own it) that what I advance is true. One
 “ gentleman, however, has had the candor to
 “ own it, and I quote him with pleasure, be-
 “ cause I never heard that he has been sus-
 “ pected of partiality to my countrymen, I
 “ mean the author of the North Briton. After
 “ affirming that the Scotch nation has always
 “ regarded the House of Stuart in the true
 “ light, (*i. e.* as tyrants and cowards) he says,
 “ *the history of Scotland shews how little that*
 “ *nation is disposed to submit to oppressions AT*
 “ HOME;” and he then goes on to prove it from
 “ other authority. See North Briton, No. 36.
 “ I cannot help remarking here (by the by)
 “ how very erroneous, though common, is
 “ that aspersions of our being insolent in office,
 “ and fawning to those who are ranked above
 “ us.—The very reverse of this is true.—The
 “ authorities I have just quoted shew us to be
 “ a people that are not likely to be over pa-
 “ tient under *personal* indignities; and I may
 “ make my appeal to the character of every
 “ officer I have mentioned, as having had a
 “ command under the late King, for a refu-
 “ tation of any charge that imputes to us a
 “ haughty over-bearing carriage in office.

“ WELL

“ WELL, I said that the Scots are either
 “ Whigs or Jacobites ; but as the word Whig
 “ hath, from time to time, had many diffe-
 “ rent significations imposed upon it, so that
 “ it is now become unintelligible, I must
 “ tell you what species of Whigism distin-
 “ guishes us. We are not of that sort that,
 “ during the reign of King William, joined
 “ with the Tories (though they hated them)
 “ in always opposing his measures ; they had
 “ too much of Republicanism, Anarchy, or
 “ private views in their complexion ; nor do
 “ we come up to the perfection of the men
 “ who now assume that title. What are we
 “ then ? We are friends to the revolution,
 “ friends to the reigning family, and friends
 “ to the constitution as it *now* stands ; in short
 “ we are that kind of Whigs that constituted
 “ the *old* ministry in Queen Anne’s reign, who
 “ had a solid and rational love for the people,
 “ and in consequence of that love thought,
 “ that loyalty and subordination were duties
 “ that ought to be inculcated as the only hu-
 “ man means of making them happy and safe ;
 “ and though they abhorred passive obedience
 “ and non-resistance, as applied to the dia-
 “ bolical purposes above-mentioned, yet they
 “ did not mean to erase loyalty and obedience
 “ out of the catalogue of social virtues, and
 “ replace them by their opposite vices diso-
 “ bedience and sedition, as a set of men who
 “ dare call themselves Whigs now do.—If

“ they only called themselves patriots, I should
 “ not be offended. Patriotism is a complex
 “ idea, that involves and combines many ca-
 “ pital virtues; and when they with their low
 “ passions and vices pretend to it, the plea-
 “ santry of the image amuses me. Their pa-
 “ trionism (mind I say *their*) agrees exactly
 “ with Locke’s diffinition of wit, which (says
 “ his abridger, for I have not read Locke these
 “ many years) consists most in the assemblage
 “ of ideas, and putting those together with
 “ quickness and variety which have the least
 “ resemblance to form agreeable visions. But
 “ when these men call themselves Whigs,
 “ they ought, at least, to bate one of their
 “ charges against us, and never henceforth
 “ talk of *Scotch* impudence.

“ OUR present Whigs (for they persist in
 “ keeping up that title) are playing the same
 “ game that the opposition did in the reigns
 “ of King William and Queen Anne; they
 “ pitied, flattered, courted, and betrayed the
 “ people; told them they were cheated, abused,
 “ that their blood was spilt in fruitless expe-
 “ ditions, and their treasure wasted to enrich
 “ ministers, with all that kind of tragical cant
 “ that you now read every day in the papers.
 “ The people believed them, yes, the people
 “ who are always in the right, and whose
 “ voice is the voice of God. What was the
 “ consequence? a King who had restored their
 “ constitution,

“ constitution, and was the bulwark of their
 “ religion, became hated, insulted, and felt
 “ every mark of popular opposition and in-
 “ gratitude. And in Queen Anne’s reign this
 “ same Majesty of the people set it’s face a-
 “ gainst the wisest and best ministry that ever
 “ diffused strength and brilliancy on a king-
 “ dom, expelled them, and brought in a set
 “ of men, whose first efforts were to change
 “ the succession, after having already made
 “ Great-Britain a by-word to all the nations
 “ in the world for perfidy and treachery to
 “ it’s allies. If you ask of what party deno-
 “ mination these oppositions were, I answer
 “ that the first was almost of every party ;
 “ discontented Whigs, biggoted Tories, Ja-
 “ cobites, Republicans, Levellers, Papists,
 “ Presbetyrians, and half a score other sects
 “ with their sub-divisions, who, though they
 “ detested and envied each other, just as the
 “ members of the present opposition do, yet
 “ (like the present) joined all their forces to
 “ form one GLORIOUS OPPOSITION, as
 “ they called theirs, and as you like them
 “ call yours. In Queen Anne’s reign the peo-
 “ ple, indeed, were taught to be Tories, as
 “ that character suited best with the Queen’s
 “ humor, but their leaders were in their
 “ hearts of different sects. Harley, afterwards
 “ Earl of Oxford, the chief of them, was
 “ bred a Presbetyrian, and was one of the four
 “ Whigs who had opposed King William.

“ As

“ As the mock-patriots boast so much of
 “ the love and good opinion of the people, I
 “ hope I have not strayed out of my road in
 “ shewing you how little the merits of men,
 “ and the value of things is to be estimated
 “ by popular opinion. Nothing is more easily
 “ obtained (provided you will set aside the
 “ honest man and take up the hypocrite) nor
 “ more hard to keep. In POLITICAL MAT-
 “ TERS the people may be tuned to any thing;
 “ and that same credulity and good-nature
 “ that makes them *to-day* the instruments for
 “ one set of men to play upon, may *to-morrow*
 “ leave them open to the practice of another
 “ set, who have more skill or fortune to hit
 “ the right key of flattery and condolence.

“ I intimated just now that the word Whig
 “ had been so strained and stretched beyond
 “ it's first signification, that now it conveys
 “ no positive distinct idea to the mind of what
 “ it is. I repeat it: I know men of fourscore
 “ years of age, who had been trained up in
 “ Whig principles, connected themselves all
 “ their lives with that party, who had always
 “ called themselves Whigs, were reputed to
 “ be so, and received as such. Men, who
 “ had grown grey in the defence of the Whig
 “ doctrine, and now, behold, these men have
 “ all along mistaken their own character, and
 “ the world has been deceived in them! they
 “ are Tories! for they maintain that honor and
 “ obedience

“ obedience is due to the King, they have a
 “ sacred reverence for parliaments, and they
 “ think that respect belongs to magistracy.

“ In my attempt to bring the word Whig
 “ back to it's true meaning, and restore the
 “ character to it's lustre, I was under the ne-
 “ cessity of wiping away every stain that hath
 “ been thrown upon it. Let this, Sir, be my
 “ apology for striking out the pretensions of
 “ your friends to that denomination. I doubt
 “ not but in a little time, when the world shall
 “ be convinced of your incompetency to stand
 “ in the rank of Whigs, you yourselves will
 “ hit off some title that may go down with
 “ the people :—Indeed it is almost time that
 “ you should.—The word Patriot too cannot
 “ hold out much longer; it's meaning begins
 “ to be understood. Why should you not call
 “ yourselves the Godly, or Christ's Saints?
 “ Other men of the same stamp with *many* of
 “ you, and with the *same object* in view, for-
 “ merly did so with amazing success.

“ I have taken the pains to analise your
 “ whole complicated mass of opposition, and,
 “ upon separating it's parts, I find that, if
 “ from that medley of characters that consti-
 “ tuted the opposition in King William's
 “ reign, you take away the Papists, Jacobites,
 “ and Tories (for I would not charge you with
 “ more than you deserve, or I can prove) and
 “ fill

“ fill their seats with R — ck — — mites,
 “ S—lb—nites, and Place-hunters; you will
 “ take in all those men who, led by some po-
 “ litical principle or other, would overturn
 “ the government for the good of the people;
 “ all those who, having no attention to the
 “ people, are under the influence of partial
 “ connections and friendships; and all those
 “ who, disregarding both general and parti-
 “ cular interests, extend their views no far-
 “ ther than to the filling their own pockets.
 “ —But still there are two characters wanting
 “ to compleat the present hodge podge of Pa-
 “ triotism: The first of these consists of men
 “ who have, or think they have, received some
 “ injury or slight; these are wound up and
 “ put in motion by pique and resentment *only*,
 “ and are callous to every sentiment that doth
 “ not arise from revenge, or that doth not tend
 “ to the feeding it.—I hope these are few;
 “ but some of them are of the first rank in
 “ the kingdom, and are too dextrous and
 “ powerful in all the variegated arts of mis-
 “ chief.—The last set of opposers I am to
 “ speak to are those who are merely and avow-
 “ edly so for opposition’s sake. How often
 “ have I seen a pompous coxcomb take the
 “ lead in a company and exclaim, God forbid
 “ that there should be no opposition in this
 “ country! if ever that should happen we are
 “ an undone people!—Observe, I understand
 “ the word opposition *here* to be a constant
 “ indiscriminate

“ indifcriminate one; for if it be taken only
 “ as an occasional and juft one to thofe mea-
 “ fures that are bad, I have nothing to fpeak
 “ to, for the fentiment is unexceptionable;
 “ but it is fo very evident, that I think that
 “ the men who uſher it in with fo much fo-
 “ lemnity have a deeper and more extended
 “ meaning. If, then, it be underſtood that
 “ there ſhould always exiſt a ſet of men who
 “ are *conſtantly* to oppoſe adminiſtration, I
 “ pronounce that the poſition is dangerous,
 “ and the more ſo, on account of a plauſibility
 “ that is it’s paſſport to a pretty general re-
 “ ception; but, in reality, it is no more than
 “ one of thoſe high ſounding ſentiments that
 “ wants but to be developed to make it de-
 “ teſted and exploded. I wiſh I had leiſure
 “ to expoſe it in all it’s views, and trace it in
 “ all it’s conſequences.—Take, however, a
 “ remark or two; Support, and oppoſition are
 “ relative terms, and commendable or other-
 “ wiſe, according to the ſubjects they are
 “ connected with; therefore oppoſition can-
 “ not *always* be right, unleſs meaſures ſhould
 “ always be wrong, which is a caſe not eaſy
 “ to be conceived.—The ſupporting bad mea-
 “ ſures is not a whit more atrocious than the
 “ oppoſing good ones; and thoſe men who
 “ reſolve to defend every one, and thoſe who
 “ are as determined to tilt at them all, equally
 “ expoſe themſelves to the obloquy of making
 “ a ſacrifice of truth and propriety to injuſtice

“ and a rotten policy.—No man is justifiable
 “ in obstructing the measures of administration,
 “ unless it be in matters that he is qualified to understand,
 “ and if he doth not understand them (I care not how unpopular
 “ the sentiment may be, I am sure common
 “ sense is on my side) he ought to be silent.
 “ If his avocations or his laziness have barred
 “ his knowledge on any particular topic, let
 “ him, at least, keep up a decent reserve, and
 “ a manly pride, and not let himself down to
 “ the station of a post-boy, who is not answerable
 “ for the intelligence he carries, or
 “ to the office of a speaking trumpet, that
 “ speaks by the breath of others.”

HERE, Gentlemen, I took occasion to observe to my Scotchman that he had got into the beaten track of ministerial agents, who are mighty industrious in recommending it to the people to shut their eyes, and their ears, and their mouths.—Yes, yes, (said I) if you could bring that about, you might mould us to what you please, and enslave us all; but this lesson will not go down in a country of liberty, and, Sir, let me tell you, it is the duty of every honest man to be a watchman for the State, and to give the people timely notice of every danger, lest they find it out when it is too late, and sink under it.—You have spent much time in giving me advice, and in abusing my friends. I have heard you
 with

with great patience ; but you really bear me down with a torrent of words.—Who told you that *many* in the opposition are Republicans and Levellers ? and on what ground do you insinuate that they have dark designs ?—You call us calumniators, whilst you yourself are acting the part of a railer and defamer. I mention not this with a view that you should answer it, for I grow weary of the subject ; but to shew you that I see into your stratagem. You are raising a dust, that under the cover of it, you may steal away from a charge which you cannot bear up against. Why do you elude my position that this country is governed by Scotch counsels ? for you do but trifle, when you tell me that your countrymen do not occupy the stations that give an *official* and *ostensible* access to the King's closet. 'Tis known that they find their way to it by some *secret* passages, particularly two of your noblemen, I need not name them ; and it is more dangerous, certainly more suspicious, that they should convey their sentiments in whispers, than if they delivered them at a board.—Besides you have not yet acquitted your people of being, most of them, Jacobites. If you mean to converse with me any longer, speak to these points, and don't continue dodging and sharking from the main questions ; and when you have done this, throw back your attention to the years fifteen and forty-five, and try if all your arts and shifts can absolve

or palliate the behaviour of your countrymen at those times ; and then tell me, fairly, if the memory of your past rebellions doth not give us just cause to entertain fears and jealousies about you.

IT was wonderful, my friends, to see with what serenity and composure the Scotchman heard all this. His countenance raised in me the idea of that dignity of character expressed by the *MENS SIBI CONSCIA RECTI*. Yet though he seemed quite easy under my reproaches, and perfectly prepared with an answer, I will do him the justice to own that there appeared no air of triumph or insolence in him.—All this might be art ! he thus went on.

“ SIR, I am ready to admit that you have
 “ heard me with patience, and am not with-
 “ out hope that a time may come when you
 “ will find your account in having done so ;
 “ if I have been tedious in some places, and
 “ have seemed to keep too long from the main
 “ points, it was not from any unwillingness
 “ to return to them, but from the method of
 “ the defence I am engaged in, which must
 “ be accommodated to the nature of the
 “ charge.—Now to support this charge, no
 “ fact or proof is adduced ; it is merely in-
 “ vention improved into hear-say. What mode
 “ of defence then could be so fitting as that
 “ of

“ of laying open the political characters of
 “ it’s fabricators and promulgers ? This I
 “ have done, and it is with you to determine
 “ whether their principles and publick con-
 “ duct entitle them to a degree of credit suf-
 “ ficient to overturn the authorities I have
 “ produced.—*Who told me that many in the*
 “ *opposition are Republicans and Levellers ?* In-
 “ deed, Sir, you are a weak advocate for your
 “ friends, if you deny it ; they avow it them-
 “ selves ; their doctrines speak it ; but lest
 “ these should not speak plain enough, their
 “ writers take up the signatures of Cromwell,
 “ Fairfax, Ireton, Bradshaw, Milton, Pym,
 “ and others of that kidney. Doth this want
 “ a comment ? and are these used casually and
 “ without a meaning ?—and *on what ground*
 “ *do I insinuate* (by the by I do more than in-
 “ sinuate it) *that they have dark designs ?* This
 “ is my reason ; when any particular minister
 “ is the object, the writer, after calling up
 “ the people against him, and using every art
 “ that can exalt popular madness into frenzy,
 “ and carry zeal into action, piously admo-
 “ nishes him to take care of his soul, that the
 “ vengeance of Heaven is at hand, and will
 “ be sudden and unexpected : The writers in
 “ this way sign Felton.—A curious Epitaph
 “ to the honorable memory of Mr. President
 “ Bradshaw lately came out ; and verses have
 “ appeared commendatory of a celebrated as-
 “ sailin ; I have not the paper by me, and if
 “ I mutilate

“ I mutilate the text, I ask the author’s pardon, but I think the last line runs thus :

Who strikes a Tyrant, strikes for human kind.

“ I am not deep enough read in English poetry to know whether it be original or a quotation, but I have wit enough to understand it’s tendency; and what think you of these that were written some years ago?

— — — *May every Villiers feel
The keen deep searchings of a Felton’s steel.*

“ So now you know what you have to do when you are offended with any particular minister; only intimate to some enthusiastic follower of your’s, that he is as dangerous a man as George Villiers Duke of Buckingham was, and you may chance to see *poetical* justice executed upon him.—Some Felton may do it for *the honor of God, and good of his country*. I have heard too of an odd expression, about town, of de Witting a minister; but I hope this was only the conceit of some drunken porter at an ale house; it could not come from a man of fashion or humanity. Good God, if this scheme of assassinations should take place, where will it end!—Well, Sir, have I made good my charge?

“ You

“ You mistake me strangely, Sir, I wish,
 “ I exhort the people to *open their eyes and*
 “ *their ears*, and every avenue to their under-
 “ standings ; and then, but not ’till then, to
 “ *open their mouths too* : For how can a man
 “ inform me, if he hath not informed him-
 “ self ? By all means let them watch over the
 “ State, but let them qualify themselves first
 “ to be watchmen before they undertake to
 “ perform the office. The poor fellow who
 “ proclaims to the parish the hour of the
 “ night, and the appearance of the weather,
 “ first listens to the clock, and looks at the
 “ sky ; but if he neglected to make use of his
 “ senses, and, like you, proclaimed at ran-
 “ dom, we, his worshipful masters, would
 “ soon dismiss him, as one whose roaring and
 “ bawling served only to disturb and deceive
 “ us. It vexes me when I see rational beings,
 “ free agents, arranged and posted like walls
 “ and pillars only to raise a multiple echo.

“ I do not believe that the two Scotch no-
 “ blemen you allude to get secret access, and
 “ deal in whispers in the manner you repre-
 “ sent : You have asserted it, and it lies with
 “ you to prove it.—If you alledge that the
 “ business is of too private a nature to admit
 “ of proof, I must say, then, that you are
 “ performing the part of a mischievous busy
 “ prattler, in asserting any thing injurious to
 “ private characters, that you cannot support.

But

“ But let us look into the probability of
 “ this matter ; one of these noble persons is
 “ wholly taken up in works of literature and
 “ philosophy, hath conceived an invincible
 “ disgust to politicks, and is seldom in town.
 “ The other attends the duty of his high of-
 “ fice, and the parliament, with too much
 “ assiduity, and, in his leisure hours, the
 “ chearful social turn of his mind engages
 “ him too much in rational friendly converse,
 “ to leave him either time or taste for enter-
 “ ing into private cabals.—You don’t know
 “ the men you are talking of ; and I am a-
 “ shamed to employ my time in answering
 “ private scandal ; but I have one argu-
 “ ment that ought to be irrefragable with
 “ your friends, as it is drawn from one of
 “ their own favourite principles, I mean the
 “ little care they take of us their countrymen,
 “ when they might easily provide for many of
 “ us, if they had the King so much in their
 “ power as is pretended ; so that you are
 “ brought to this dilemma, you must either
 “ withdraw your position, or acquit them of
 “ nationality, a crime, it seems, in a Scotch-
 “ man, and a virtue in an Englishman.—If
 “ the King condescends to profess a regard
 “ for these noblemen, His Majesty doth no
 “ more than act in common with every honest
 “ man who knows them. THEY will not
 “ *sting him to death*. If they had ever repro-
 “ bated a measure in publick which they had,
 “ silently,

“ silently, suffered to pass in council, or had
 “ ever carried the secrets of the King to a
 “ leader of an opposition, they might justly
 “ have been thought capable of such a deed,
 “ and would have given too much colour to
 “ their enemies to consider them as *venemous*
 “ *reptiles*, to use another expression of an ele-
 “ gant writer of your’s.

“ I come now to speak of the Jacobites
 “ that are among us. Indeed you do them
 “ too much honor to mention them. A few
 “ bed-ridden men and women, who cannot
 “ shake off their old prejudices, make up al-
 “ most the whole corps. The field of Cullo-
 “ den, and your scaffolds and gibbets in Eng-
 “ land have provided for the greatest number
 “ that lived in the year forty-five ; some es-
 “ caped to France, and some eluded the long
 “ and strict search that was made by the
 “ King’s forces ; these, when justice had been
 “ nearly satisfied, and when keeping the sword
 “ of punishment longer unsheathed, might
 “ have favoured of unrelenting severity (which
 “ was far from being the character of the late
 “ King) came from their coverts, and, join-
 “ ing with the few who had been pardoned,
 “ enlisted in the army ; and together with
 “ great numbers taken out of those clans that
 “ had retained their loyalty, and were the
 “ most numerous, formed very considerable
 “ reinforcements to the troops in America

H

“ and

“ and Germany, where they are reported to
 “ have done their duty.—I intimated that the
 “ loyal clans were the most numerous. If I
 “ am guilty of a misrepresentation, I subject
 “ myself to detection, by giving you the par-
 “ ticulars, as they have been delivered to me.
 “ On the King’s side were the Campbells,
 “ M’Clouds, Monroes, M’Kays, Sutherlands,
 “ Grants, and two regiments of lowlanders,
 “ raised at Edinburgh and Glasgow. The
 “ rebel clans were the Mackintoshes, Frazers,
 “ M’Phersons, M’Donalds of Glangary, Mac-
 “ kenzie (a part only), and a regiment of
 “ lowlanders, led by Lord Lewis Gordon.
 “ You will find, upon enquiry, that the for-
 “ mer were in general the strongest bodies of
 “ men.

“ B U T what gave the finishing blow to Ja-
 “ cobitism in Scotland, was that wise mea-
 “ sure that took place and passed into a law ;
 “ I mean that of abolishing the power of the
 “ heads of clans, and thereby dealing out to
 “ the highlanders the blessing of freedom, in
 “ common with all their fellow-subjects in
 “ Great-Britain. This excellent Act, as it
 “ endeared the Government to them, com-
 “ pleted a reformation in their politicks, and
 “ opened a large source of strength and credit
 “ to the whole kingdom ; So that when peo-
 “ ple talk *now* of the Jacobites in Scotland,
 “ as a party that can disturb the State, they
 “ are

“ are either ignorant of what they talk about,
 “ or have designs that are not quite innocent.

“ BUT I have detained you long, and will,
 “ therefore, defer to our next meeting what
 “ I have to say, in relation to the behaviour
 “ of the Scots, in the years fifteen and forty-
 “ five, which you question me about, but
 “ which, having passed so long ago, and there
 “ being so few alive that were concerned in
 “ either, I think you might have forbore to
 “ mention; but as you deduce from the me-
 “ mory of those transactions a reason for keep-
 “ ing a jealous eye over us *now*, I find myself
 “ under a necessity of speaking to them. I
 “ shall then undertake to shew that your fears
 “ (if you really have any) are without foun-
 “ dation; perhaps I may go a step farther,
 “ and make it appear that your reproaches
 “ *now* are ill-timed, unprovoked, wanton and
 “ cruel. When this business shall be gone
 “ through, I shall congratulate you on being
 “ in sight of land, for I shall only further
 “ throw in your way two or three remarks that
 “ arise from the whole of our conversation,
 “ which I have as much reason, at least, as
 “ you to be weary of, for I have received no
 “ instruction by it, and, if it is not your own
 “ fault, you have.”

GENTLEMEN, it was not long before the Scotchman and I met again, when he revived the subject, by saying,

“ AT our last meeting you called upon me
 “ to vindicate the behaviour of the Scots, at
 “ the two points of time you then specified.
 “ If I were disposed to enter upon the defence
 “ of what was done in the year fifteen, I
 “ should make you my debtor for pleading the
 “ cause of *your* countrymen, as well as that
 “ of my own, for the crime was common.
 “ If you did not bring so many men into the
 “ field as we did, it was not owing to a want
 “ of courage or inclination, for at that time
 “ great numbers of you most devoutly wished
 “ for the return of the abdicated family. But,
 “ to gratify that wish, difficulties and ob-
 “ structions stood in your way, which the na-
 “ ture of our constitution and customs ex-
 “ empted us from:—In matters of political
 “ zeal there is usually but a short space be-
 “ tween a design and its execution if the
 “ vigilance and power of the established go-
 “ vernment do not interpose to keep them at
 “ a distance.—Now the power of our chief-
 “ tains was at that time so enormous, that it
 “ superseded all magistracy, and bid defiance
 “ to all process of law; they could, in a few
 “ hours, call out all their vassals and lead
 “ them to action without a necessity of mak-
 “ ing them privy to their design.—Secrecy
 “ and

“ and expedition are the essence of conspi-
 “ racies.—But the case was different in Eng-
 “ land, every man to be employed *there* must
 “ be first consulted, and his consent obtained;
 “ whilst the Lieutenants of counties (who
 “ hold their places at the will of the crown)
 “ and the civil officers had their rule of con-
 “ duct so plainly marked out to them by the
 “ common course of law, and by orders from
 “ the Secretaries of State, that they could, in
 “ many instances, prevent people from com-
 “ ing together, and secure those whom they
 “ had cause to suspect; and accordingly many
 “ were taken up. This accounts for your de-
 “ bility in the execution, but doth not take
 “ away from the turpitude of the design.

“ IN the rebellion of forty-five the English
 “ are not to be reproached, for I scorn to take
 “ advantage of the rising of a few; do I ad-
 “ mit then that it was a Scotch rebellion?—
 “ Very far from it, if you mean a *general* one,
 “ not a twelfth part of the peerage was con-
 “ cerned in it, which appeared after the un-
 “ common pains taken to enquire who were,
 “ and not a single minister of the Kirk; few
 “ of the lowlanders took up arms, and these
 “ were opposed by a superior number, who
 “ drew up on the King’s side: This rebellion
 “ consisted of some highland clans, and these
 “ were more than counterbalanced by the
 “ loyal ones: If these last had been permitted
 “ to

“ to rise sooner, which Archibald Duke of
 “ Argyle, and the Marquis of Tweeddale stren-
 “ nuously advised, though by a fatal error in
 “ in ministry they were not attended to, the
 “ rebellion would have been quashed in it’s
 “ infancy.—But even the highlanders who
 “ fought for the Pretender, are not to be con-
 “ sidered *individually* as Jacobites ; they knew
 “ no political principle, but that of a blind
 “ obedience and prescriptive fidelity to their
 “ leaders. So that, all things considered, there
 “ remain none to be apologised for but those
 “ leaders and a few others, who, under a
 “ State of free agency joined them.—You
 “ challenge me to excuse these, I decline it,
 “ I have nothing to offer, but I take not an
 “ inhuman joy in aggravating their offence.
 “ —They paid the forfeit of their lives.—Let
 “ the memory of the crime perish with it’s
 “ perpetrators.—But your friends think other-
 “ wise, they give life to it, they call it up
 “ for malicious purposes ; they first endeavour
 “ to fix the character of universality on what
 “ was very limited and partial, and then from
 “ that feigned and suppositious generality,
 “ draw unfair consequences, and extend them
 “ beyond what would follow from the pre-
 “ mises, even if they were true. If you al-
 “ ledge that there were many of the Scots
 “ who wished well to the cause, though they
 “ did not assist in it, I answer, perhaps it
 “ might be so ; but would you execrate men
 “ for

“ for their speculations ? None but the actors
 “ are rebels ; for rebellion is an action, not a
 “ passion : But this objection is best answered
 “ by a matter of fact, which is that very many
 “ more wished well to the King’s cause,
 “ though they likewise did not assist in it ;
 “ indeed there was not time to raise and dis-
 “ cipline them, for when an active enemy is
 “ in the field, it is too late to raise recruits
 “ and form soldiers, they must be met with
 “ by those that are at hand.

“ B U T I must not yet have done with this
 “ idea of speculative Jacobites, because I see
 “ why you have recourse to it, and carry it so
 “ far. The absurdity of deducing a genera-
 “ lity of principle in a million and half of
 “ people, from the actions of ten thousand,
 “ which is the utmost that is pretended to have
 “ been in arms, and two thirds of them in a
 “ state of servitude to their chiefs, would have
 “ been laught at, so you break open the ca-
 “ binet of mens secret thoughts, which hav-
 “ ing garbled and adulterated to your purpose,
 “ you deal out as their opinions, to fill up
 “ the measure of your charge, and give an
 “ appearance of generality to an odious ap-
 “ pellation you chuse to insult us with.—But
 “ this not all. You make use of this inde-
 “ cent and preposterous misrepresentation of
 “ us as if it were a truth ; and you infer
 “ from it, (for that is your object) that if
 “ most

“ most of us were Jacobites in the year forty-
 “ five, we must necessarily be so now. But
 “ why so? Are there no instances of a people
 “ having changed their political principles,
 “ and taken up quite contrary ones, in a less
 “ space of time than three and thirty years?
 “ I will carry you back but a little way into
 “ the history of your own country, to shew
 “ you that it is no new thing.

“ IN the reign of Charles the Second the
 “ people were twice Tories and once Whigs;
 “ in the beginning of it, unconditional and
 “ unbounded loyalty was the prevailing pas-
 “ sion, the people were Tories in the most
 “ eminent degree; (that term and it's oppo-
 “ site were not then invented, but I use them
 “ *here* to distinguish the principles) but the
 “ bad conduct of that prince, and the fear of
 “ a popish successor, soon gave their minds
 “ another bias. Opposition took place, and
 “ then first the Whigs set up. These were
 “ good men and meant well, but unfortu-
 “ nately they took into their association a set
 “ of furious Republicans, who disgraced the
 “ whole tribe, and at length sickened the
 “ people with their plots, their perjuries and
 “ their barbarities. Then again the Tories
 “ triumphed, and so great and general was
 “ the disgust against the other party, that it
 “ even superseded their fears of popery, and
 “ the name of Whig became infamous, and
 “ few kings have died more popularly bewailed
 “ than

“ than Charles the second. — Such was the
 “ temper of the nation when James the se-
 “ cond ascended the throne ; that mad bigot
 “ soon turned the current ; the whole frame
 “ of legal security tottered to it’s foundation,
 “ and popery poured in like a torrent. Op-
 “ position became necessary, meritorious, and
 “ universal ; and the doctrine of passive obe-
 “ dience and non-resistance was given up by
 “ it’s late warmest supporters. A well-timed
 “ and just revolution restored religion and
 “ law. William was a great and an honest
 “ man, but his reserve and ungraceful de-
 “ portment created him enemies ; untoward
 “ circumstances gave these an advantage, and
 “ the high church men, who perhaps thought
 “ they had not been enough rewarded for the
 “ sacrifice they had made of their principles,
 “ joined in cabals ; some with a view only to
 “ distract and perplex his measures, and others
 “ to seat his rival on the throne. When
 “ Queen Anne came to the crown, she found
 “ the kingdom torn to pieces by factions ;
 “ but her ministry were so happily chosen,
 “ that they nearly brought about a coalition
 “ of parties : Some of them had been mode-
 “ rate Tories, and the Whigs that were
 “ among them had preserved themselves un-
 “ tainted with republicanism ; their high
 “ understanding and calmness of temper
 “ brought them to be well acquainted with
 “ each other ; and it was *then* found out that

“ a moderate Tory and a moderate Whig,
 “ when they came to define their principles,
 “ were nearly the same thing : they therefore
 “ joined in adopting this last title ; and the
 “ people (the majority I mean) again became
 “ Whigs. Never was in England so glorious
 “ a combination of TRUE PATRIOTS. Ne-
 “ ver did the kingdom shine forth with such
 “ lustre ; and never were people so happy.
 “ But this bright period lasted only a few
 “ years, and gave place to a mortifying
 “ change : the Queen had not great skill in
 “ state affairs ; there is reason to think her
 “ heart was good ; but she had not the qua-
 “ lities of an heroine ; and it is not to be
 “ marveled at, that, when the dear objects of
 “ conjugal and maternal tenderness were re-
 “ moved, her affections should revert to the
 “ house from whence she sprang : her *new*
 “ favourites cherished this partiality ; their
 “ arts, as you have heard before, together
 “ with the Queen’s most engaging deport-
 “ ment, wrought upon an unguarded, good-
 “ natured people to close in with her designs.
 “ The bulk of them again became violent
 “ Tories ; and they carried their principles
 “ to such an excess, that it is extremely pro-
 “ bable, that, if her death had not happened
 “ at so critical a time as it did, popery and
 “ despotism had again overwhelmed these
 “ kingdoms.

“ IF

“ IF these facts are stated with the fidelity
 “ and precision I have endeavoured at, they
 “ will teach you how delusive is your con-
 “ clusion, when you infer that if we were,
 “ most of us, Jacobites in the year forty-five,
 “ we must necessarily be so at this time ; for
 “ you cannot persist in that wild notion,
 “ when you reflect on the fluctuating state of
 “ parties, but more particularly on the con-
 “ sequences of the victory at Culloden, and
 “ on the act that abolished clanship.

“ BUT why hate, spurn, and insult us, for
 “ a crime committed so long ago ? Surely the
 “ blood that was spilt on that occasion was
 “ sufficient to wash away the stain. I do
 “ not say that the severity was excessive, but
 “ there was no great defect of it. The act
 “ that passed for trying men in England for
 “ crimes they had committed in Scotland, was
 “ going as far as it was possible to come at
 “ their lives, and seemed to be a perversion
 “ of the intent and liberality of the law,
 “ which means to lay open to every man’s
 “ view the utmost extent of the danger he
 “ incurs if he commits a crime, that the hor-
 “ ror of the prospect may work upon his
 “ fear, and make him stop in time : the mi-
 “ serable objects I am speaking of had not
 “ that advantage ; they acted under the faith
 “ and protection of a law which ensured to
 “ them the right of being tried in their own
 “ country.

“ country.—They were deceived; a *new* act
 “ of parliament *ex post facto* started up, and
 “ exposed them to a *new* danger, which, if
 “ they had foreknown, perhaps the terror of
 “ it might have kept some of them innocent.
 “ I pretend not to dive into the political ex-
 “ pediency of that measure—it might be ne-
 “ cessary—but I contend that the sufferers had
 “ a hardship put upon them—they had not
 “ fair play.—If you will, you may call me a
 “ Jacobite for saying this, I cannot help it;
 “ but what I mean is to put you in mind that
 “ there was not such a degree of lenity shewn
 “ upon that occasion, as to make it at all ne-
 “ cessary to fill up any deficiency of punish-
 “ ment by insults and reproaches, which, as
 “ far as they relate to the guilty and the pu-
 “ nished, are *now* superfluous and ungenerous,
 “ and in as much as they are levelled indis-
 “ criminate at my countrymen, are mali-
 “ cious and false, as hath been abundantly
 “ proved.

“ How then can you justify your treat-
 “ ment of us?—But I will bring this matter
 “ still more home to your justice, your com-
 “ mon sense, and your humanity: I will use
 “ an argument that the most subtile of your
 “ leaders cannot answer, and dare not evade;
 “ I say, then, that even supposing the rebel-
 “ lion to have been more general than I have
 “ represented it, and supposing too that it had
 “ not

“ not been sufficiently punished, yet (and here
 “ will I rest my cause) IT HATH BEEN
 “ FORGIVEN. The generous George the
 “ Second gave a receipt in full, by cherish-
 “ ing us in common with the rest of his sub-
 “ jects, by trusting, by employing us.—He
 “ had no cause to repent it; we have ever
 “ since that time manifested a steady loyalty;
 “ we have been peaceable and dutiful at home,
 “ and we have gone out with cheerfulness and
 “ alacrity to revenge his wrongs, and to fight
 “ his battles.

“ AND shall an offence pardoned, and a-
 “ toned by an after conduct that hath even
 “ given lustre to Royal mercy, by stamping
 “ it with the seal of wisdom and foresight,
 “ shall that offence be called up *now* against
 “ us? *now*, when time, that should bury all
 “ injuries, and soften all resentments, hath
 “ lent it's healing hand, and joined itself to
 “ every other argument for a general ob-
 “ livion?

“ OUR conversations now draw to an end.
 “ I have demonstrated, that the Scots do not
 “ possess that immensity of power and places
 “ that the mock-patriots pretend: from the
 “ process of that demonstration arose this co-
 “ rollary, namely, that we have not even *our*
 “ *share* of them,—I have shewn you that so
 “ far from infusing into the King notions of
 “ arbitrary

“ arbitrary power, we detest and always have
 “ opposed such doctrine.—I have particu-
 “ rised to you that sort of people that was en-
 “ gaged in the rebellion, in the year forty-
 “ five; and in doing that, I have made it ap-
 “ pear that the imputation of it's being a *na-*
 “ *tional* one is unjust and false.—I have then
 “ argued, that the offence ought to have been
 “ purged away by the *late* King's pardon;
 “ more especially when every mode of com-
 “ pensation that natural justice and municipal
 “ rigour could require at the hands of the
 “ *guilty*, have been complied with; and every
 “ duty that moral obligation can lay upon de-
 “ linquents as expiatory of their offences, hath
 “ been practised, to the full, by a people,
 “ the bulk of whom had not been guilty of
 “ any offence that stood in need of any expia-
 “ tion at all.

“ I should grudge the time I have spent
 “ in elucidating these matters, if I had not
 “ a glimmering of hope, that my pains
 “ would not be entirely thrown away; they
 “ are all directed to one point, namely, that
 “ of making peace between us. If justice,
 “ and the propriety of things have not their
 “ due weight with you, by being counteracted
 “ by the mischievous industry of your leaders,
 “ listen, at least, to the voice of common in-
 “ terest and safety. Great-Britain is threat-
 “ ned; Never did a body require the use of
 “ all it's limbs more than this empire now
 “ calls for concord and harmony in all it's
 “ parts;

“ parts ; yet these—shall I call them men, or
 “ monsters ? persist *even now* to disjoin us.
 “ How can we assist you with that social affec-
 “ tion, and that chearfulness of spirit that
 “ gives energy to every blow, and sets up ho-
 “ nor in opposition to despair, when you are
 “ every day calling us traitors, and grudging
 “ us the very commissions that are given us to
 “ fight in your cause ?—When I assure you,
 “ as I now do, that the Scots have nothing
 “ more at heart than to live amicably with
 “ the English, I think I venture upon no more
 “ than our very long and patient suffering un-
 “ der such sharp provocations and indignities
 “ evinces. This forbearance of ours shews,
 “ likewise, that we know how to distinguish
 “ between the natural genuine temper of a
 “ people, when left to themselves, and their
 “ adopted principles, *adopted* from men as
 “ much inferior to them in honesty and ge-
 “ nerosity, as they are their masters in craft
 “ and mischief. It is against *these only*, these
 “ mock-patriots, these leaders of yours, (and
 “ I believe there are not more than an
 “ hundred or two in the kingdom) that we
 “ have any resentment ; and if in the course
 “ of our conversation I have not always
 “ pointed out this distinction, it was omitted
 “ only through impetuosity, or to avoid mul-
 “ tiplicity of words. This being understood,
 “ what remains for me before I take my
 “ leave ? Nothing, but to exhort you to be
 “ just

“ just to yourselves, and then you will do *us*
 “ justice. — Emancipate yourselves from that
 “ thralldom that your too easy belief and in-
 “ dolence have drawn you into — have opi-
 “ nions of your own. — Shall men be led in
 “ a string? and will you give up the noblest
 “ prerogative of humanity, that of thinking
 “ and reasoning, and rest your faith upon the
 “ intelligence of others, (such others too!)
 “ and decide upon it? Will you dance when
 “ *they* pipe, and fetch and carry at *their* bid-
 “ ding?

“ I know it doth not come within the
 “ compass of every body to study the history
 “ of his own country; but it is amazing that
 “ men who have it in their power to come at
 “ this kind of knowledge should so shame-
 “ fully neglect it's pursuit. It is the remark
 “ of an ingenious foreigner, that the English
 “ are the most enlightened people in the
 “ world in every thing but their own history.
 “ — He was in the right. — I wish men would
 “ study it well; it would lead them into
 “ drawing comparisons that would turn to
 “ account both in quieting their own minds
 “ and making them good subjects. Then
 “ would they see that there never was a
 “ time when liberty was enjoyed to the ex-
 “ tent it now is; that there never reigned in
 “ England a king, from whom any design of
 “ encroaching on it was so little to be feared
 “ as from His present Majesty. — When your
 “ *republican*

“ *republican* leaders blazon forth all the glo-
 “ ries of the nation under the commonwealth,
 “ they keep from your view that tribunal
 “ called the HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE,
 “ where men were capitally convicted with-
 “ out JURIES; (read the State Trials)
 “ not a word is said of those petty ty-
 “ rants the MAJOR GENERALS who
 “ were appointed to the government of coun-
 “ ties, nor of the total bar to every avenue to
 “ the PRESS.—They know all this, but they
 “ trust to your ignorance, and they are not
 “ deceived. They know too that the time I
 “ am speaking of teemed with more barba-
 “ rity, illegality, and insecurity to individuals,
 “ than ever disgraced this country, even under
 “ the reigns of the Stuarts or the Tudors.

“ AN inspection into the merits of former
 “ reigns would teach you to reverence the
 “ present one. Then would you blush to see
 “ your King defamed and ridiculed, to see
 “ male gossops carry tittle-tattle up and down,
 “ and bandy tales, as void of truth as their
 “ authors are of common sense!

“ AND now, my friend, to convince you
 “ how much I wish to bring you to a juster
 “ way of thinking, and to shew you that I
 “ fear not that all I have said will stand the
 “ test of your cooler reflection, and the scru-
 “ tiny of your friends, I will send you upon

K

“ paper

“ paper the whole of our conversation ; I can
 “ easily recollect all I have said, and *your* re-
 “ plies will not burthen any man’s memory.
 “ Take only this caution ; when I have stated
 “ any thing in a *general* way, I expect to be
 “ understood *generally* ; for example, when I
 “ use these expressions, *the people, my country-*
 “ *men, we, us,* or the like, you are not to
 “ arraign my veracity in what I say concern-
 “ ing them because you may find out *some*
 “ exceptions to the universality of my posi-
 “ tions.—And now I bid you farewell.”

WELL, Gentlemen, the Scotchman was as
 good as his word ; he sent me the writing,
 and I think it is pretty exact. I am sensible
 how small a figure I have made in the contro-
 versy, but I had rather stand before you in the
 light of a weak disputant, than permit our
 cause to suffer from such doctrines as he hath
 advanced, if they should remain unanswered.
 I recommend this to your consideration, and
 hope you will take him in hand.

I am, GENTLEMEN,

Your most devoted servant and
 faithful adherent.

N. B. *The noble person alluded to in pages 29 and
 30, and spoken of there as living, died after these
 sheets were sent to the press.*

